

wages, that we are going to subsidize your investment abroad.

Mr. Speaker, one of the things that particularly outrages me is that many of the companies who we are providing incentives to invest abroad are precisely those companies who are laying off hundreds of thousands of American workers.

Now, it seems to me that it is a little bit absurd that we are helping the Ford Motor Company invest abroad, after they have laid off 337,000 workers here in the United States in the last 15 years. And I would ask my colleagues to take a good look at this chart, which is right here by my side.

What this chart shows is that Ford is getting help from OPIC to invest abroad; interesting, after laying off 337,000 American workers in the last 15 years. So we are saying to Ford and the other companies, thank you very much for throwing American workers out on the street. Thank you very much for lowering the standard of living of American workers. And here is your reward, the taxpayers of America will help you invest in other countries. And we say thank you to the Exxon company. You have only laid off 86,000 American workers in the last 15 years. Here some help. Maybe you want to go abroad and hire people there for low wages. Thank you very much. Thank you AT&T, you have only laid off over 200,000 American workers. General Electric, 221,000 American workers, and so forth and so on.

Now, it seems to me that rather than having the taxpayers of America providing incentives for these huge corporations to go abroad, and I might say, Mr. Speaker, and this is a fact not very often talked about, that these American corporations, the large multinationals who are laying off millions of American workers, they have invested this last year \$750 billion abroad. Now, in every city in America, in every State in America, mayors and governors are getting down on their hands and knees and they are saying to these companies, invest in the State of Vermont, my state, invest in Texas, invest in California. But these corporations do not. They are laying off American workers and they are going abroad.

So it seems to me that instead of encouraging them to go abroad, maybe we may want to say to them, hey, stay back here in the United States and provide jobs for our workers; pay your taxes here.

At a time when this country has a \$4.5 trillion national debt it seems to me that we can no longer afford to maintain various forms of corporate welfare, at great expense and risk to the taxpayers.

I rise today to call for the end of Government funding for OPIC, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, and for the elimination of this agency which receives about \$50 million a year in funding but, more importantly, has placed at risk some \$6.3 billion of taxpayer money through Government insured assets.

It is important to acknowledge that concern about Government funding for OPIC extends across the political spectrum—progressives, moderates and conservatives increasingly see no sense to the public funding of this agency.

I am also delighted to say that Budget Chairman JOHN KASICH, in the recently passed Republican budget, quite appropriately called for eliminating the appropriations for OPIC, and I want to credit Mr. KASICH for doing so.

Furthermore, a Wall Street Journal editorial of April 12, 1995, also called for the defunding of OPIC. The Wall Street Journal is deeply concerned, as I am, about OPIC's risky financial guarantees in Russia and Eastern Europe.

A very conservative think tank—the Center for Security Policy—is also sounding the alarm regarding the growing danger of OPIC continuing to use taxpayer dollars to insure risky investments in Russia and other former Communist countries.

But it is not only conservative groups who are calling for the elimination of OPIC funding. Progressive groups are also raising the same cry. For example, here in Congress the 46-member progressive caucus was the first congressional organization to call for OPIC's elimination. Furthermore, two organizations affiliated with Ralph Nader—Congress Watch and Essential Information—have called for the elimination of OPIC.

Mr. Speaker, if huge Fortune-500 corporations like Ford, Exxon, AT&T, General Electric, IT&T, and Coca-Cola want to make investments in politically unstable countries, they have every right in the world to do so. That is not what we are debating today.

These multi-billion-dollar corporations have every right in the world to invest in Russia and Eastern Europe—in Albania, Croatia, El Salvador, Somalia, Peru, or anyplace else they want to invest. But, Mr. Speaker, they do not have the right to ask the American taxpayers to underwrite the insurance on those investments. And they do not have the right to get advantageous financing from the Government.

If these corporations invest and make a lot of money—the stockholders get the profits. If, on the other hand, they invest in Russia or any other country and because of political instability they lose their assets through nationalization or expropriation—the American taxpayer picks up the bill. That is wrong. If you take a risk, you can sometimes make a lot of money. But sometimes you lose. And it is not the function of the U.S. Government to place our taxpayers at risk for \$6.3 billion to protect the investments of huge, multinational corporations.

Now, who are some of the corporations who are receiving this help? Here are some recent examples: OPIC is providing \$105,057,000 in insurance in Russia for the Coca-Cola Export Corp.; \$200,000,000 in insurance for Du Pont in Russia; \$200,000,000 in insurance for Mars, Inc., in Russia, which I believe is owned by one of the wealthiest families in America; and \$200,000,000 in financing for GTE and AT&T for a joint cellular telephone project in Argentina.

Other major corporations that are being provided insurance by OPIC are: First National Bank of Boston, the Enron Corp., Bechtel, Cargil, Duracell, American Express, International Paper, Levi Strauss, and Citibank.

Mr. Speaker, another aspect of this whole situation which bothers me very much is that the U.S. Government is providing financial in-

centives to the largest corporations in America to invest abroad—when, on the contrary, we should be demanding that these companies invest in the United States, hire workers in the United States, and pay taxes in the United States. Corporate America already invests \$750 billion a year abroad—and the number is increasing every year. They do not need Government subsidies to increase that investment.

It is especially outrageous that we are using taxpayers dollars to help finance companies who, in the last 15 years, have thrown millions of American workers out on the street. My colleagues, take a good look at this chart, and note how many workers have been fired by some of the very same companies that OPIC is now providing financial assistance to.

Should we really be helping Ford Motor Co. invest abroad after they have laid off 337,000 workers in the last 15 years. Thank you, Ford, for laying off these workers. Now here is your Federal subsidy to invest abroad so that you can hire foreign workers. Exxon—86,000 workers laid off, AT&T—233,000 laid off, General Electric—221,000 workers laid off or downsized as they occasionally say. And on and on it goes. This is a list of only 10 companies—and they have laid off over 1 million workers. Helping companies go abroad after they have laid off 1 million American workers does not make a lot of sense to me.

I wonder what the laid off workers of these companies must think when they learn that their tax dollars are rewarding those companies who have caused so much suffering and, to a large degree, are responsible for the terrible decline in the standard of living for working people all over this country. Yes, cut-backs in Medicare, Medicaid, student loans and veterans programs, but \$50 million a year, and a \$6.3 billion insurance risk for the largest corporations in America. A very sensible policy.

BOSNIA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise in order to report on my actions and activities with respect to the ongoing situation in Bosnia and my letter to President Clinton, which I had prepared immediately, that that became a crisis point, and it looked as if the President might take unilateral action without any real consultation with the Congress.

So in my letter I said: "The preparations currently underway for the possible involvement of U.S. military forces on the ground in Bosnia impel me once again"—because I have previously "to urge you in the strongest possible terms to seriously consider this matter before committing our troops to any such action and to abide in the closest possible way to the laws of the land with regard to the use of U.S. military force abroad."

Let me say, this has been the story of my career since I first came to the Congress, beginning with then-President Kennedy, believe it or not, who was probably one of the most intimate personal friends I have had as a President, and then with President Johnson,

who succeeded him, whom, of course, I had known from the beginning back in Texas. And more so with President Johnson, I became a gadfly, as the drum beats rose in noise and the urge to propel our armed services into action became irresistible.

So in this letter I say, as I said in my letter to you last year—and this reflects my consistency “air strikes will not accomplish the goal of peace in the former Yugoslavia.”

Fortunately, of course, we know now that the president has been restrained, and I compliment him. But as I said in this letter, in my last paragraph: “As I have expressed to you with regard to Somalia, Haiti, and before in Bosnia, as I have with previous presidents about other situations, the Constitution and the War Powers Resolutions”—which I had the great honor of first evolving and developing in this House and eventually, unfortunately too late, enacted “the Constitution and the War Powers Resolution clearly afford Congress an important role to play in the use of U.S. military force overseas, and, as you know, I have long struggled to uphold this balance of powers among co-equal branches of government. I was heartened by your comments today that Congress would be consulted in this matter and that you continue to exercise restraint in deploying United States forces on the ground in Bosnia. I fully hope and trust that you will continue to do so.”

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I am happy to say that up until now that seems to be the case.

However, I do want to point out that one of the things that in fact has made me an irritant to be even friends, like President Johnson, is the fact that we have become inured more and more to an excessive weight in that coequal branch, which should be a coequal branch, the presidency.

After all, the Constitution itself does not make the office of the presidency Article 1. It is the Congress, and it was deliberately done. There was a reason for it. The men who wrote the Constitution were the first to protest that the king made wars. Now in democracies, we have the equivalent. The only thing is that it is not the king declaring then, but as far as the will of the people expressing itself and the idea of the fundamental nature of a justified war having been lost sight of, makes it impelling that we review this matter.

I want to terminate by saying that I will place a copy of this letter in the RECORD, so that those of my colleagues interested will have a chance to review it.

The material referred to is as follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, May 31, 1995.

Hon. WILLIAM J. CLINTON,
President, The White House, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The preparations currently underway for the possible involvement of U.S. military forces on the ground in

Bosnia impel me once again to urge you in the strongest possible terms to seriously consider this matter before committing our troops to any such action and to abide in the closest possible way to the laws of the land with regard to the use of U.S. military force abroad.

As I said in my letter to you last year, airstrikes will not accomplish the goal of peace in the former Yugoslavia. I am truly sad to say that recent events make this all the more clear. The Serbian forces in Bosnia have shown that they will exact as high a toll as possible from their adversaries in their pursuit of their military goals. In this situation where the Serbs are waging a war against the Bosnian government and where they consider the United Nations an enemy in their fight, deploying U.S. forces on the ground, whether it be in support of a reorganization of U.N. forces or in a related effort, will surely put our troops in a hostile situation and in imminent danger of being involved in combat. With the Bosnian Serb's recent demonstration of their grotesque lack of respect for civilian life and for U.N. peace-keeping forces, there can be little doubt that American forces would likewise be a target for attack.

As I have expressed to you with regard to Somalia, Haiti and before on Bosnia, as I have with previous presidents about other situations, the Constitution and the War Powers Resolution clearly afford Congress an important role to play in the use of U.S. military force overseas, and, as you know, I have long struggled to uphold this balance of powers among co-equal branches of government. I was heartened by your comments today that Congress would be consulted in this matter and that you continue to exercise restraint in deploying U.S. forces on the ground in Bosnia. I fully hope and trust that you will continue to do so.

Sincerely,

HENRY B. GONZALEZ.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THOSE IN A CREATIVE MEDIUM AND OF AMERICA'S ELECTED OFFICIALS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GILCREST). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, last week when Senator BOB DOLE made his statements about Hollywood, it was unfortunate that they were made in the context of a presidential campaign, because his remarks were immediately analyzed and seemingly split into two camps, deciding whether or not it was an attack on Hollywood, justified or unjustified, and whether or not Hollywood should defend itself, justified or unjustified, and that seemed to end the debate. You could take sides on whether or not that attack had taken place or not.

Mr. Speaker, I think it would be a very fundamental mistake for Hollywood or anyone else in this country to believe that because that speech appeared in a political context and was analyzed mainly by political analysis and analysts, pundits who deal with the political people in this country, to believe that his remarks do not represent a concern in this country about the level of violence in the media, in all of its different forms, in music, in

films, TV, and a concern that is one that is shared by millions of American families, and a concern for many of us in public life.

Mr. Speaker, I would hope that the issue would not get down to the issue of censorship, or picking our favorite stars, or deciding who bankrolled the good movie versus the bad movie, but I would hope that we would have the possibility of having a national conversation in this country about the future of our children, about the impact of the media on our children, on our families, on ourselves, because none of us are immune from this.

It is not just young, impressionable children who absorb the hours and hours of violence that are now portrayed on TV, in the movie theaters, and in our music. It happens to all of us. It makes statements about our society. I think we have to have this discussion. I do not think you can end this discussion by denying the power of this media, all of a sudden saying we have no impact, or suggesting that it is the only reason, or the cause of many things that we do not like in our society, because it is not. These are all multifaceted problems.

I think we should do it with an understanding that this is a country that loves its movies, love its moviemakers, its songwriters and its performers. We recognize the creativity, we recognize the agility, the ability, the fascination that they can create.

We also, in loving them, recognize that they are powerful; that music can pick up our spirits, it can lower our spirits. It can excite us, it can soothe us. A film is designed to invoke emotions, to create a result, to get a response. When you listen to the great filmmakers of our time discuss how they put movies together, what they were thinking about, why they picked to do it this way, why music was added in this fashion, why this scenery, why this color, why black and white, why this, why that, why that lighting, it is all designed to move people in the viewing of that medium, designed to get a reaction, to get a response, to create an atmosphere, and they successfully do it. They have been doing it as long as the movies have been around.

You listen to them discuss that, and you appreciate that they understand the power of their medium, the power to move a Nation, the power to move a Nation's children, to excite us, to fascinate us. They know they can do that if you give them an hour and a half of your time, if you give them 2 hours, if you give them a subject. It does not matter if it is fantasy or animation, it does not matter if it is in a historical context or a completely fictional context, they know they can do that. That is the tribute, the genius.

The same is true with songwriters. They know they can move a Nation to its feet. They know they can move romance, where romance maybe was not. We have to recognize that. However,